

Political Science 8660
Spring Semester 2006
Thursdays 3:35-5:30
1314 SSB

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Graduate Seminar in Comparative Politics: Political Parties and Party Systems

Political parties are the building blocks of democratic politics. Why do politicians and voters create, change, and destroy them? What do citizens and political scientists want from them, and what affects how well parties meet these demands? Does it matter which party or parties control the government? With such questions in mind, this seminar explores comparative theories of political parties in both established and new democracies.

Assignments: All students taking the seminar for credit must do the assigned readings, write three papers, and participate in discussions. Two of the papers are short critical analyses of the readings (approximately 750-1000 words); students will sign up for their choice of topics during the first seminar meeting. If seminar enrollment requires students to prepare more than two critical analyses, only two of the papers will be graded (the student will decide which two). The critical reviews should focus your thoughts, prompt possible research paper topics, and guide our discussions. The papers should raise general questions about the readings as well as specific questions about the readings under review. They should be thought-provoking. They can take on any aspect of the readings to be discussed that week, so long as they analyze rather than summarize. The papers might critique or extend theories, consider applications to different cases, reexamine empirical evidence, etc. Students writing critical reviews will present their analysis (approximately 15 minutes) in seminar. To accommodate discussion, **critical review papers are due 24 hours in advance of seminar, via email, to everyone enrolled.**

The 3rd paper is a research design of approximately 20 pages. A research design is a project you *would* complete if you had the time and resources. I will *not* expect you to complete the research for the project. However, a research design is a good way to begin thinking about potential paper or dissertation projects. I will distribute a "How to Prepare a Research Design" handout to guide your preparation. All students must meet with me individually by week seven to discuss their research design topic. A *draft* of the research design is due via email May 3rd to everyone in seminar. Students will present their research design, and provide comments on everyone else's research design, in seminar the following day (plan to stay late!). A final version, responding to comments received, is due on May 11th.

Grades: grading will be based on the following: critical analyses 20% each, research design 50%, and seminar participation 10%. I will discuss your progress in the course during our one-on-one meetings to discuss research designs.

Reading Material: you should purchase the following books at the bookstore:

- Pradeep K. Chhibber and Ken Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems* (Princeton University Press, 2004)

- Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero, and Linz (eds.), *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Wolfgang Muller and Kaare Strom (eds.), *Policy, Office, or Votes: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) **(buy if you are at all interested in European politics, otherwise copy chapters 1 and 12.)**
- Alan Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems* (Oxford University Press, 1996)

All other readings will be available on-line.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (January 19) Introduction: Why Do We Care (1)?

Reading questions: What do we want (as citizens) from political parties? Possibilities: a sense of belonging; articulation, aggregation and representation of political interests; accountability...

- APSA, "Toward a More Responsible Two-party System: A Report of the Committee on Political Parties," *APSR* 44:3 (1950), Part 2, Supplement, pp. 1-14.
- Morris Fiorina 1980. "The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics." *Daedalus* 109: 25-45.
- Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, "Unthinkable Democracy: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies," in Dalton and Wattenberg (eds.), *Parties without Partisans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 5-10
- Juan Linz, "Parties in Contemporary Democracies: Problems and Paradoxes," in Gunther, Montero, and Linz, pp. 291-317
- Philippe Schmitter, "Parties Are Not What They Once Were," in Diamond and Gunther (eds.), *Political Parties and Democracy* (JHU Press, 2001), pp. 67-89
- Soren Holmberg, "Are Political Parties Necessary?" *Electoral Studies* 22 (2003), 287-299
- Ingrid van Biezen, 2004. "Political Parties as Public Utilities." *Party Politics* 10(6):701-22
- Hans Daalder, "Parties: Denied, Dismissed, or Redundant? A Critique," in Gunther, Montero, and Linz, pp. 39-57 (seek differences with Dalton and Wattenberg)
- Paul Webb, 2002. "Conclusion: Political Parties and Democratic Control in Advanced Industrial Societies." In *Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, edited by Paul Webb, David Farrell, and Ian Holliday, OUP, pages 438-460.

Week 2 (January 26): Why Do We Care (2)?

Reading question: How do we, as political scientists, study political parties?

- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, pp. 1-13
- Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, chapter 2.
- Kenneth Janda. 1993. "Comparative Political Parties: Research and Theory." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, ed. Ada Finifter. APSA.
- Susan C. Stokes, "Political Parties and Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2

(1999), 243-267

- Jose Ramon Montero and Richard Gunther. 2002. "Introduction: Reviewing and Reassessing Parties." In Gunther et al. (eds.) pages 1-35.
- Nancy Rosenblum, "Political Parties as Membership Groups." *Columbia Law Review* 100(3): 813-844 (2000).
- Richard S. Katz, "Party Government and Its Alternatives," in Katz (ed.), *Party Governments: European and American Experiences* (1987), pp. 3-6 and 18-22.
- Morris P. Fiorina, "Party Government in the United States: Diagnosis and Prognosis," in Katz (ed.), pp. 270-300
- Michael F. Thies, "On the Primacy of Party in Government," in Dalton and Wattenberg (eds.), *Parties without Partisans*, pp. 238-257.

Week 3 (February 2): What do Parties Want, and How do We Know? Assessments of Party Goals and Strategies

Reading questions:

- 1) How can we theorize about party "goals?" Do parties seek votes, office, or policy? What shapes the tradeoff among those three goals?
 - 2) How does the basic spatial model of competition work? What are its moving parts? What are its assumptions about parties, about intra-party politics, and about voters?
 - 3) How do expectations change if we alter a) the number of competing parties; b) the number of salient dimensions of competition; c) the sequence of party entry; d) voters' decision functions; or e) the institutional context?
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chs. 2, 7 (through Section I only), and 8 (through Section II).
 - Kenneth A. Shepsle and Mark S. Bonchek, "Spatial Models of Majority Rule," in *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions* (1997), pp. 104-115
 - Torben Iversen. "Political Leadership and Representation in European Democracies: A Test of Three Models of Voting" *AJPS* 38(1): 45-74. <http://www.jstor.org>.
 - Robert Harmel and Kenneth Janda. 1994. "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 6(3): 259-287.
 - Wolfgang Muller, 1997. "Inside the Black Box: A Confrontation of Party Executive Behavior and Theories of Party Organization." *Party Politics*
 - James Adams et al., 2005. *A Unified Theory of Party Competition*. Chs. 1-3 and 13.
 - Kaare Strom and Wolfgang C. Muller (eds.), *Policy, Office, or Votes*, pp. 1-35 and ch. 12.
 - David Samuels, "Presidentialized Parties: The Separation of Power and Political Party Organization and Behavior." *Comparative Political Studies* May 2002.

Week 4 (February 9): What Kinds of Parties Are There? Organization

Reading questions: How and why do party organizations differ? What elements of party organization most determine parties' ability to realize their goals (whatever those may be)? That is, how can we link party organization to party strategy? Are there "natural" tendencies in party organizational evolution? Why? Roberto Michels thought the answer was obvious. To what

extent do US parties confound Michels' famous dictum? Is there a link between parties' "founding ideologies" and their subsequent evolution?

- Seymour M. Lipset, 1961. "Introduction." In Robert Michels, *Political Parties*. (Skip the parts about unions.)
- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Chs. 1 and 3.
- Peter Mair (ed.). 1990. *The West European Party System*. Chs. 1, 3-5.
- Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in the American Mold*, pages 79-89 and 200-208.
- Diamond and Gunther, chapters 1 and 2.
- Richard Katz, "Party Organizations and Finance" in LeDuc et al, *Comparing Democracies*.
- Schlesinger, Joseph. 1984. "On the Theory of Party Organization." *JOP* 46(2): 369-400.
- Richard Katz and Peter Mair. 2002. "The Ascendancy of the Party in Public Office: Party Organizational Change in Twentieth-Century Democracies" In Gunther *et al.*
- Steven Wolinetz, "Beyond the Catch-all Party." In Gunther, *et al.*, pp. 136-165
- Mark Blyth and Richard Katz, 2005. "From Catch-all Politics to Cartelisation: The Political Economy of the Cartel Party," *West European Politics* 28(1): 33-60

Week 5 (2/16): Where Do Parties (and Party Systems) Come From? (1) Social Cleavages

Reading questions: what is a "cleavage?" How do we know when one becomes politically salient "enough" to foster the formation of a political party? To what extent does the sociological approach to party systems under- or over-predict party formation?

- Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, [1967] "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in Peter Mair (ed.), *The West European Party System*, pp. 99-138.
- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Ch 6.
- Leon Epstein, 1980. *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, Ch. 2.
- Seymour M. Lipset and Gary Marks. 2000. *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States*. Pp. 15-31, and 269-278.
- Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Pp. 1-30.
<http://repositories.cdlib.org/uclasoc/trcsa/8/>
- Chhibber and Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems*, Ch. 1.
- Michael Coppedge. 1998. "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems." *Party Politics* 4(4): 547-568. (<http://www.nd.edu:80/~mcoppedg/crd/ddlaps.htm>)
- Barbara Geddes, 2004. "The Development of Party Systems in Latin America." Unpublished, UCLA.

Week 6 (February 23): Where Do Parties (and Party Systems) Come From? (2): Resolution of Electoral and Governing Coordination Problems

What assumptions do scholars bring to the table in this literature? To what extent can the concepts employed in this week's readings "travel" to other countries? Why or why not?

- Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle. 1999. "How Political Parties Emerged from the Primeval Slime: Party Cohesion, Party Discipline, and the Formation of Governments." In Bowler, Farrell, and Katz (eds.), *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*.

- Gary Cox, 1987. *The Efficient Secret*, chs. 5-6, 8-11.
- John Aldrich, 1995. *Why Parties?* Pp. 3-61.
- Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins, 1993. *Legislative Leviathan* Chs. 4-5.
- McCox, 2005. *Setting the Agenda*, Ch. 2 (“Procedural Cartel Theory”)
- Octavio Amorim Neto and McCox, 2003. “Agenda Power in Brazil’s Câmara dos Deputados, 1989-98.” *World Politics*.

Week 7 (March 2): Where Do Parties (and Party Systems) Come From? (3): The Impact of Electoral Systems and other Institutions

Why should we care about the number of parties, much less the “effective” number of parties? What answers have political scientists provided to this question? What factors shape the effective number of parties, how, and why?

- Rein Taagepera and Matthew Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. Chs. 1-3 and 8.
- William Riker. 1982. “The Two-Party System and Duverger’s Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science.” *APSR* 76(4): 753-766.
- Giovanni Sartori, “The Party Effects of Electoral Systems.” In Diamond and Gunther, ch. 5.
- Gary Cox, 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Chs. 1-3, 10-11, 15
- Matthijs Bogaards. 2004. “Counting Parties and Identifying Dominant Party Systems in Africa.” *EJPR* 43(2): 173-197.
- Chhibber and Kollman, 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems*, Ch. 3.
- Seymour M. Lipset and Gary Marks. 2000. *It Didn’t Happen Here*, pp. 43-83.
- Matthew Shugart. 1995. “The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Presidential Government.” *APSR* 89:327-43.
- Matthew Golder, 2005. “Presidential Elections and Legislative Fragmentation.” *AJPS*.
- Terry Clark and Jill Witrock. 2005. “Presidentialism and the Effect of Electoral Law in Postcommunist Systems.” *Comparative Political Studies* 38(2): 171-88.

Week 8 (March 9): The Politics of Cleavages

- William Riker. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*. Pp. ix-xi, and 1-7.
- V.O. Key. 1984 [1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, pp. 130-131 and 142-150
- Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, 1986. *Paper Stones*, pp. 1-56, 101-141.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, pp. 1-57.
- Pradeep Chhibber and Mariano Torcal. 1997. “Electoral Strategies, Social Cleavages, and Party Systems in a New Democracy: Spain.” *Comparative Political Studies*: 27-54.
- Marcus Kreuzer. 1998. “Electoral Institutions, Political Organization, and Party Development: French and German Socialists and Mass Politics.” *Comparative Politics*, 30(3): 273-292.
- Jakub Zielinski, “Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies,” *World Politics* 54 (January 2002), 184-211.
- Chhibber, *Democracy without Associations*. Intro and chapter on Spain and Algeria.

Week 9 (March 23): Party System Dynamics: How Do Parties Interact?

What is a party “system?” What difference do different types of systems make, and why? To what extent can one talk about a party “system” without talking about the parties within that system? What explains patterns of stable partisan competition? If party systems are “stable,” what explains the evolution of party support and/or the entrance of new competitors - how and why do new parties emerge?

- Robert Dahl, 1966. “Patterns of Opposition,” in Dahl (ed.), *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*, pp. 332-348
- Peter Mair (ed.), 1990. *The West European Party System* pp. 285-349.
- Peter Mair, “Party Systems and Structures of Competition.” In LeDuc, Niemi and Norris (eds.), *Comparing Democracies*, 83-106.
- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Chapter 5 (contrast to Mair chapter)
- Robert Rohrschneider. 1993. “New Party Versus Old Left Realignment - Environmental Attitudes, Party Policies, And Partisan Affiliations In Four West-European Countries.” *Journal Of Politics* 55(3): 682-701.
- Simon Hug, 2001. *Altering Party Systems: Strategic Behavior and the Emergence of New Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Chapter 3 and pages 116-23.
- Bonnie Meguid, 2005. “Competition between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success.” *APSR*

Week 10 (March 30): Party and Party System Evolution

- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Chapter 7.
- Gary Cox, *Making Votes Count*, pp. 251-265.
- Peter Mair. 1993. “Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of Traditional Parties,” *European Journal of Political Research* 24: 121-133
- Richard Rose and Thomas Mackie. 1988, “Do Parties Persist or Fail? The Big Trade-off Facing Organizations,” in Lawson and Merkl, *When Parties Fail*, pp. 533-558.
- Wolfgang Mueller. 1993. “The Relevance of the State for Party System Change,” *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 419-454.
- Nick Sitter. 2002. “Cleavages, Party Strategy and Party System Change in Europe, East and West.” In *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 3(3), pp. 425-451.

Week 11 (4/6): Party/Party System Evolution in the US: “Realignment” w/o Party Failure

How and why do party systems evolve, but the parties in the system stay the same? Contrast arguments about party adaptation to arguments from last week about new party entry. Consider the assumptions in the “realignment” literature on US party politics and explore the extent to which these arguments might apply outside the US.

- V.O. Key, *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (4th ed.), pp. 183-217 (“The Party Battle, 1896-1956”).
- Earl Black and Merle Black, “The White Revolt in the Deep South,” in *The Vital South*, pp. 141-158 and 174-175.
- Merle Black, “The Transformation of the Southern Democratic Party,” *The Journal of*

Politics 66:4 (November 2004), 1001-1017

- Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* Chapters 1 & 8.
- Warren Miller and Norman Schofield, "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States," *APSR* 97:2 (May 2003), 245-260.
- David Mayhew, *Electoral Realignments: A Critique of an American Genre*, Chs. 2, 7.

Week 12 (April 13): Party System Evolution: Focus on New(ish) Democracies

What's the relationship between *party* change/institutionalization and *party-system* change/institutionalization? Are these concepts separable? Is a party's ability to pursue its goals a function of party-system "institutionalization" or determined by factors internal to parties themselves and independent of party-system effects? How do we know an "institutionalized" system when we see one? What causes institutionalization? What causes de-institutionalization?

- Scott Mainwaring and Mariano Torcal, "Party System Institutionalization and Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization." Working paper.
- Scott Mainwaring and Mark Jones, "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems: An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas." *Party Politics* 9(2): 139-66.
- Michael Coppedge. 2001. "Political Darwinism in Latin America's Lost Decade," in Diamond and Gunther (eds.), *Political Parties and Democracy*, pp. 173-205.
- Ken Roberts, Labor Movements, Party Systems, and Electoral Volatility in Latin America's Neoliberal "Critical Juncture." Unpublished, Cornell University.
- Katrina Burgess and Steven Levitsky, 2003. "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela," *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 881-911
- David Samuels. 2004. "From Socialism to Social Democracy? The Evolution of the Workers' Party in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 37: 999-1024.

Week 13 (April 20): Party Governance: Theorizing Coalitions

How do our theories of party "goals" relate to the theories of coalition formation? What is the relative importance of spatial and reputational considerations for coalition formation? How do different constitutional formats alter the "game" of coalition formation?

- Michael Laver, 1998. "Models of Government Formation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1:1-25.
- Wolfgang Muller and Kaare Strom, "Conclusion." in Muller and Strom (eds.), 559-592
- Kaare Strom. 1990. *Minority Government and Majority Rule*, chs. 1-2.
- Lanny Martin and Randolph Stevenson, 2001. "Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies." *AJPS* 45(1):33-50.
- Paul Warwick and James Druckman, 2004. "The Portfolio Allocation Paradox: An Investigation into the Nature of a Very Strong but Puzzling Relationship." Unpublished.
- Octavio Amorim Neto. 2006. "The Presidential Calculus: Executive Policy-Making and Cabinet Formation in the Americas." *Comparative Political Studies* 39(6).
- Octavio Amorim Neto and David Samuels, "Democratic Regimes and Cabinet Politics: A

Global Perspective.” Unpublished.

Week 14 (April 27): To What Extent Do Parties and Party Systems Matter? Competition, Governing, Policy

- V.O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, pp. 19-27, 218-228.
- Ware, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, pp. 349-358 and 367-376
- Andre Blais, Donald Blake, and Stephane Dion, “Do Parties Make a Difference? Parties and the Size of Government in Liberal Democracies,” *AJPS* 37:1, 40-62
- Andre Blais, Donald Blake, and Stephane Dion, “Do Parties Make a Difference? A Reappraisal,” *AJPS* 40:2 (May 1996), 514-520
- Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy*, Ch1
- Carles Boix, *Political Parties, Growth and Equality*, pp. 1-10.
- Anna Grzymala-Busse, “Political Competition and the Politicization of the State in East Central Europe,” *Comparative Political Studies* 36:10 (2003), 1123-1147.
- Pradeep Chhibber and Irfan Nooruddin, 2004. “Do Party Systems Count? The Number of Parties and Government Performance in the Indian States,” *CPS* 37(2): 152-187.
- Charles Davis, Roderic Ai Camp and Kenneth Coleman, The Influence of Party Systems on Citizens’ Perceptions of Corruption and Electoral Response in Latin America.” *Comparative Political Studies* 2004 37: 677-703.

Week 15 (May 4): Research design presentations.

Final research design due 5/11